

AN
A C C O U N T
OF THE
MUTINOUS SEIZURE
OF
The B O U N T Y:
WITH THE SUCCEEDING
HARDSHIPS OF THE CREW:
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
SECRET ANECDOTES
OF THE
OTAHEITEAN FEMALES.

L O N D O N:

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Museum of Comparative Zoology.

A C C O U N T

OF THE

Mutiny on-board the Bounty.

THE Bounty armed ship sailed from England, in the autumn of 1787, on a voyage to the Society Islands, for bread-fruit trees, intended for the West-India settlements; in which climate, it was the opinion of Sir Joseph Banks, they might be successfully cultivated, and would supply the place of other provisions in times of scarcity. After a prosperous voyage, they arrived at their place of destination, and employed five months and about three weeks in collecting 1015 fine bread-fruit plants, and many other natural productions of the country, in a state of high preservation: thus laden, they departed from Otaheite on the 4th of April, 1789.

But, before we proceed to relate one of the most unparalleled acts of mutiny that perhaps was ever heard of or recorded, it may not be improper to present the reader with a list of the ship's crew; distinguishing those who adhered to their commander from those who headed and composed the conspiracy.

P I R A T E S.

Fletcher Christian, master's mate; Peter Haywood, Edward Young, George Stewart, midshipmen; Charles Churchill,

Churchill, master at arms; John Mills, gunner's mate; James Morrison, boatswain's mate; able seamen, Thomas Burkett, Matthew Quintal, John Sumner, John Millward, William McKoy, Henry Hillbrant, Michael Byrne, William Musprat, Alexander Smith, John Williams, Thomas Ellison Isaac Martin, Richard Skinner, Matthew Thompson, William Brown, Joseph Coleman, Charles Norman, Thomas McIntosh; in the whole twenty-five; being the most able of the crew.

CREW remaining with Mr. BLIGH.

John Fryer, Master; Thomas Ledward, acting surgeon; David Nelson, Botanist; William Peckover, Gunner; William Cole, Boatswain; William Purcel, Carpenter; William Elphinston, master's mate; Thomas Hayward, John Hallet, midshipmen; John Norton, Peter Linkletter, quarter-masters; Laurence Lebogue, sail-maker; John Smith, Thomas Hall, cooks; George Simpson, quarter-master's mate; Robert Tinkler, a boy; Robert Lamb, butcher; Mr. Samuel, clerk.

The Bounty anchored at one of the Friendly Islands (Annamooka) on the 24th of the same month, and sailed on the 27th, after having procured a supply of wood and water. But, owing to light winds, they were not clear of the islands on the evening of the 28th. At night, the captain directed his course towards Tofoa. Just before dawn of day, however, on the following morning, Lieutenant Bligh was roused from sleep, in his cabin, by the sudden entrance of Christian, the master's mate; Churchill, the master at arms; Mills, the gunner's mate; and Burkett, a common sailer. They instantly seized their commander; and, under the immediate and horrid menaces of instant death in case of outcry or resistance, they tied his hands behind his back with a cord; but this alarming situation had little influence on the natural courage of Mr. Bligh; he called loud enough for assistance to alarm every one on-board. His efforts, however, proved fruitless, as the plan was too well concerted to be overthrown by any common endeavour. Besides the four desperadoes who surrounded the captain, three others, without, stood guard at the door, and all the officers, not in the secret, and who happened to be off duty, were confined in a similar

lar manner. Christian, the leader, held in his hand a cut-lafs; the others were armed with musquets and bayonets.

Without allowing Mr. Bligh time for collected reflection, he was taken from his bed, and hurried on deck, destitute of every covering except his shirt; his hands, all the time, closely, and indeed painfully, confined with cords, with which they had previously prevented the possibility of his making that resistance of which they knew him capable. If words, indeed, could have procured submission, the captain was by no means deficient in exertions of that kind; but his interrogatories and threats were answered by new assurances of instant death, in case he did not desist.

Mr. Samuel, the clerk, by some means or other, obtained leave to go on deck; as did the boatswain and carpenter; when the first object that met their sight was their commander standing abaft the mizen-mast, his hands still confined to his back, and under a strong guard of the conspirators. The other officers and gentlemen, over whom watch was kept, of necessity continued in their cabins.

In this state of things, the pirates ordered the boatswain, on pain of death in case of refusal, to hoist out the launch; and he, seeing no likelihood of things taking a different turn, reluctantly obeyed: when Mr. Haywood, Mr. Hallet, and Mr. Samuel, were ordered to occupy it. This proceeding again called up the resentment of Lieutenant Bligh; some he threatened, and others he endeavoured to convince: but to no purpose did he exert his voice—“ Hold your tongue or die!” was all the answer returned to his menaces and his solicitations. At length, finding that the captain was not to be easily restrained, Christian caught up a bayonet, instead of the cutlass he before held, and, drawing the cords of his hands most unmercifully tight, made serious indications of using his weapon, while the surrounding miscreants stood to second their inglorious leader, their bayonets fixed and their pieces ready to discharge. The captain thus awed, the opportunity was embraced to send many of the people into the boat; from which imagining that these were the devoted companions of his future destiny, he boldly made another effort to reclaim and conciliate; but the attempt only produced a repetition of the most impudent

udent threats against the life of a man to whom many of them owed infinite obligations.

The officers under confinement were next brought from their cabins, and compelled to hurry precipitately into the boat; the captain, all the while, being kept by himself, abaft the mizen-mast, under the strict watch of Christian, who held his bayonet ready, in case of any attempt at resistance. In this situation of affairs, the pirates, by order of their master, each received a dram to encourage them, no doubt, in the arduous moment of separation from the companions of their voyage. But, notwithstanding, Isaac Martin, one of the guard placed over Captain Bligh, contrived secretly to communicate to that gentleman his wish to assist him in liberating him; probably impelled by the intrepid manner in which his commander behaved though defenceless, often reproaching the surrounding banditti with their perfidy, and daring them to discharge their loaded pieces at him. The repentance of this man, however, was soon discovered; and, when he saw that his single exertions would prove of no effect, he bravely retired to the boat; but he was shortly after compelled to return and again resume his station.

Christian, after some hesitation, determined to commit the carpenter to the boat and to retain the mates for his own purpose. No one now remained on-board except the mutineers and Capt. Bligh; on which Christian addressed him as follows: — ‘Come, sir, your officers and men are in the boat; you must go with them; resistance will occasion your instant death!’ After this speech, they seized him by the cords that bound his hands; and, while some contributed their help to push him into the boat, others, who were armed, hovered over him as if fearful that his wonted superiority required but the smallest accident to disconcert their detestable designs.

The cord with which Captain Bligh’s hands had been secured was loosened shortly after he quitted the ship. Losing all hopes of regaining the *Bounty*, he now desired that some arms might be thrown over; but his request was treated with ridicule: ‘You know,’ said they, ‘where you are going, you will have no occasion for arms.’ After they were veered astern, however, some one, more

compassionate

compassionate than the rest, flung four cutlasses into the boat, a few pieces of pork, and some clothes. It must here be recorded, that Joseph Coleman, the armourer, and M'Intosh and Norman, the two carpenter's mates, had no inclination to follow the adventitious fate of their abandoned shipmates; and, in order to prove publicly their detestation of the measures pursued, they called to the boat's crew to witness their reluctance.

During these transactions, the captain observed, that the pirates were not devoid of apprehensions for their future welfare: some were fearful that the boat would reach a place of safety, and one, when the carpenter removed his chest from the ship, cried, 'Damn my eyes, but he will have another vessel in a month!' But, if some betrayed indications of fear, others, again, shewed symptoms of insensibility; and rejoiced at the seemingly helpless state of the boat, which was by much too small for the people it was destined to contain.

The conduct of the leader at this moment is worthy particular notice: Captain Bligh, although hoarse with continued exertion ever since his first seizure, coolly reproached him for his marked ingratitude; asking him, if he imagined his present conduct was a just return for the many acts of kindness which he had experienced. Christian *felt* the conscientious force of this question; he appeared sensibly agitated; and, after some little time, answered—'That—Captain Bligh—that is the thing!—I am in hell! I am in hell!'

Luckily, those seamen, who had been destined for the boat, collected, without much opposition, before they left the *Bounty*, twine, canvass, lines, sails, cordage, and a cask containing 28 gallons of water. The clerk, also, secured about 150lbs of bread, a little rum and wine, a quadrant, a compass, the captain's journals and commission, and some other ship-papers of importance. In attempting to procure some other articles, he was hurried away with the charitable salutation of 'Damn your eyes, you are well off to keep what you have got!' All Mr. Bligh's surveys and drawings were unfortunately left behind.

The mutinous crew, as if delighting in contemplation of their own cruelty, actually kept the devoted boat astern,
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where it had been veered by a rope, that they might triumph over, ridicule, and insult, their officers and companions at a time when it was reasonably to be expected that their destruction was inevitable; and, in the midst of this indecent horrid merriment, was the boat consigned to the ocean. The goodness of the cause of these unhappy sufferers, however, faintly cheered their spirits, and Captain Bligh more than any one, conscious of his rectitude, good conduct, and zeal, animated the crew as well by example as exhortation.

With little or no wind, they rowed with all their strength towards Tofoa, which bore N.E. about ten leagues, in order to procure some bread-fruit and water. The Bounty, while in sight, steered to the W.N.W. but it was conjectured that their true destination was for Otaheite*; the fascinating

* We judged it would be here acceptable to give some account of the people of this country, particularly noticing their amorous propensities.

"While our people were on shore," says Captain Wallis, "several young women were permitted to cross the river, who, though they were not averse to the granting of personal favours, knew the value of them too well not to stipulate for a consideration: the price, indeed, was not great, yet it was such as our men were not always able to pay, and, under this temptation, they stole nails and other iron from the ship. The nails that we brought for traffic were not always in their reach, and therefore they drew several out of different parts of the vessel, particularly those that fastened the cleats to the ship's side.

"The inhabitants of this island are a stout, well made, active, and comely, people. The stature of the men in general is from five feet seven to five feet ten inches, though a few individuals are taller and a few shorter; that of the women from five feet to five feet six. The complexion of the men is tawny, but those that go upon the water are much redder than those who live on shore. Their hair in general is black, but in some it is brown, in some red, and in others flaxen, which is remarkable, because the hair of all other natives of Asia, Africa, and America, is black without a single exception. It is generally tied up either in one bunch in the middle of the head or in two, one on each side; but some wear it loose, and it then curls very strongly; in the children of both sexes it is general-

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nating women of which place had engaged the affections of some of the pirates. The females of this island may be

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termed

ly flaxen. They have no combs, yet their hair is very neatly dressed, and those who had combs from us make good use of them. It is a universal custom to annoint the head with coconut oil, in which a root has been scraped that smells something like roses. The women are all handsome and some of them are extremely beautiful. Chastity does not seem to be considered as a virtue among them, for they not only readily and openly trafficked with our people for personal favours, but were brought down by their fathers and brothers for that purpose; they were, however, conscious of the value of beauty, and the size of the nail that was demanded for the enjoyment of the lady was always in proportion to her charms. The men, who came down to the side of the river, at the same time that they presented the girl, shewed a stick of the size of the nail that was to be her price, and, if our people agreed, the girl was sent over to them, for, the men were not permitted to cross the river. This commerce was carried on a considerable time before the officers discovered it; for, while some straggled a little way to receive the lady, the others kept a look-out. When I (Captain Wallis) was acquainted with it, I no longer wondered that the ship was in danger of being pulled to pieces, for the nails and iron that held her together, which I had before puzzled myself to account for in vain, the whole ship's company having daily as much fresh provision and fruit as they could eat. Both men and women are not only decently but gratefully clothed in a kind of white cloth that is made of the bark of a shrub, and very much resembles coarse China paper. Their dress consists of two pieces of this cloth; one of them, a hole having been made in the middle to put the head through, hangs down from the shoulders to the mid-leg, before and behind; another piece, which is between four and five yards long and about one yard broad, they wrap round the body in a very easy manner. This cloth is not woven, but is made, like paper, of the macerated fibres of an inner bark spread out and beaten together. Their ornaments are feathers, flowers, pieces of shells, and pearls. The pearls are worn chiefly by the women, from whom I purchased about two dozen of a small size; they were of a good colour, but were all spoiled by boring. Mr. Furneaux saw several in his excursion to the West, but he could purchase none with any thing he had to offer. I observed

termed beautiful; nor do their conversation or their manners tend, in the smallest degree, to diminish the powerful effect of their personal attractions: sensible*, penetrating, and even delicate, with inclinations unfettered by refinement, their influence over the human mind,—when unendowed with virtue, unfortified by philosophy, and unimproved by education,—can afford little subject for surprise. Exclusive of these considerations, the civility, or perhaps cunning, of the chiefs of the island, in offering possessions to

observed it was here an universal custom, both for men and women, to have the hinder part of their thighs and loins marked very thick with black lines in various forms. These marks were made by striking the teeth of an instrument, somewhat like a comb, just through the skin, and rubbing into the punctures a kind of paste, made of soot and oil, which leaves an indelible stain.”

Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. I. p. 285.

* “ On the 14th of July, 1767, the gunner, being on-shore to trade, perceived an old woman on the other side of the river weeping bitterly. When she saw that she had drawn his attention upon her, she sent a young man, who stood by her, over the river to him, with a branch of the plantain-tree in his hand. When he came up, he made a long speech, and then laid down his bough at the gunner's feet; after this he went back and brought over the old woman, another man at the same time bringing over two large fat hogs. The woman looked round upon our people, with great attention, fixing her eyes sometimes upon one, sometimes upon another, and at last burst into tears. The young man who brought her over the river, perceiving the gunner's concern and astonishment, made another speech, longer than the first; still however the woman's distress was a mystery; but at length she made him understand that her husband and three of her sons had been killed in the attack of the ship. During this explanation, she was so affected that at last she sunk down unable to speak, and the two young men who endeavoured to support her appeared to be nearly in the same condition: they were probably two more of her sons, or some very near relations. The gunner did all in his power to soothe and comfort her, and, when she had in some measure recovered her recollection, she ordered the two hogs to be delivered to him, and gave him her hand in token of friendship, but would accept nothing in return, though he offered her ten times as much as would have purchased the hogs at market.

Ibid. p. 294.

to those who would remain with them, completed that ruinous work of seduction which the Circean blandishments of the women had so successfully begun; the one pointed out the means of existence without the fatigue of labour; the other the most exquisite sensual gratifications, divested of *most* of those destructive consequences which result from similar pursuits in the countries of Europe*. It is, however,

* According to the following extract, however, it should seem that the pleasure expected by this mutinous crew will not be *wholly* devoid of alarm.

" It is certain that none of our people contracted the venereal disease here, and, therefore, as they had a free commerce with great numbers of the women, there is the greatest probability that it was not then known in that country. It was, however, found here by Captain Cook, in the Endeavour, and as no European vessel is known to have visited this island, before Captain Cook's arrival, but the Dolphin, and the Boudeuse and Etoile, commanded by M. Bougainville, the reproach of having contaminated with that dreadful pest a race of happy people, to whom its miseries had been till then unknown, must be due either to him or to me, to England or to France; and I think myself happy to be able to exculpate myself and my country beyond the possibility of doubt.

It is well known that the surgeon on-board his majesty's ships keeps a list of the persons who are sick on-board, specifying their diseases, the times when they came under his care, and when they were discharged. It happened that I was once at the pay-table on-board a ship, when several sailors objected to the payment of the surgeon, alleging, that, although he had discharged them from the list and reported them to be cured, yet their cure was incomplete. From this time, it has been my constant practice, when the surgeon reported a man to be cured who had been upon the sick list, to call the man before me and ask him whether the report was true: if he alleged that any symptoms of his complaint remained, I continued him upon the list: if not, I required him, as a confirmation of the surgeon's report, to sign the book, which was always done in my presence. A copy of the sick list on-board the Dolphin during this voyage, signed by every man in my presence when he was discharged well, in confirmation of the surgeon's report, written in my own hand, and confirmed by my affidavit,

ever, rather singular, that the authors of a design conceived in so unanimous and determined a manner should be possessed of sufficient deliberation to defer their purpose till after the departure of the ship; for, although, in previous cases of desertion at this place, the chiefs have been obliged to deliver up the culprits, such a consequence was not to be apprehended, where the mutineers formed the strongest party, and where they would most assuredly have been countenanced by the natives. But the mode adopted was, no doubt, adjudged to be the easiest of accomplishment, and the most consistent with their feelings; for, however clearly it appears that the lives of Captain Bligh and his associates were considered as objects of little consequence, it should seem that they were unwilling to be guilty of *positive* murder, by pursuing their intentions while at Otaheite. But it would be idle to waste more room on vague conjecture when a short time may develop the true motives of the whole of this uncommon transaction.

It must afford real pleasure to every one, in considering that the conduct of Captain Bligh was by no means reprehensible; but, on the contrary, highly praiseworthy. He had traversed these seas twice before; he had served under Captains Cook and Clerke, and had adopted their regulations and manner, as far as experience warranted, in particular with regard to the health of the crew, and in case they should find a difficulty in passing Endeavour Straits,

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I have deposited in the Admiralty; by which it appears, that the last man on board the ship, in her voyage outward, who was upon the sick-list for the venereal disease, except one who was sent to England in the store ship, was discharged cured, and signed the book on the 27th of Dec. 1766, near six months before our arrival at Otaheite, which was on the 19th of June, 1767; and that the first man who was upon the sick-list for that disease, in our return home, was entered on the 26th of February, 1768, six months after we left the island, which was on the 26th of July, 1767; so that the ship's company was entirely free fourteen months within one day, the middle of which time we spent at Otaheite; and the man who was first entered as a venereal patient, on our return home, was known to have contracted the disease at the Cape of Good Hope, where we then lay."

Ibid. Wallis's Voy. p. 314.

The plants, too, were in the most excellent preservation; the object of the voyage was more than half completed; and every thing bade fair for a prosperous conclusion. The principal of the gang was treated by Mr. Bligh as a *friend*; he received from him professional instructions, and, on that score alone, as he had made great progress, his esteem was heightened into *confidence*. On the same footing of intimacy, also, was the next villain in rank, Haywood, one of the midshipmen.

But let us, for a while, quit this part of our subject, and return to Mr. Bligh and his miserable companions, who were now travelling a vast ocean, with no other guide than what the captain's former observation afforded; and with no other provision than 150lb. of bread, 16 pieces of pork, weighing about 32lb. 6 quarts of rum, 6 bottles of wine, 28 gallons of water, and 4 empty barrecoes.

After the day had closed, on the 28th of April, 1789, the boat reached the N.W. part of Tofoa, in lat. 19 deg. 41 min. S. with the assistance of a slight easterly breeze which sprang up and enabled us to sail. But, a great darkness prevailing, and the shore being rocky, dangerous, and devoid of a place of anchorage, the boat was kept for that night under the lee of the island with oars. In this situation, the captain allowed each person half a pint of grog, when those not on watch retired to rest with as much composure as their dreadful state would admit of, or perhaps more; for, Mr. Bligh himself mentions their fortitude on this and on the succeeding occasions, yet more trying, in a manner truly flattering, and which certainly contributed, in a great degree, to their final deliverance.

On the following morning, the surf ran high on the shore; but, as there was more than a probability that the provisions in the boat would prove inadequate to the emergency, Mr. Samuel, the clerk, with some others, were with difficulty landed at a stony cove, where the grapnel was dropped within twenty yards of the rocks; and, indeed, this was the only passage they could find to penetrate into the country, where was no appearance of inhabitants: so that the people returned, having only procured a very few gallons of standing water, collected from holes in the ground. The captain, therefore, taking this ill success

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into consideration, allowed a very frugal meal for this day's dinner,—a single morsel of bread and a glass of wine. After this slender repast, the boat was rowed along-shore, in the hope of discovering more favourable symptoms; and at last they espied, on the summit of high precipices, several cocoa-nut-trees; to obtain which, however dangerous, the people climbed the rocks, and gathered about twenty of the nuts, which were conveyed to the boat by means of ropes. One of these, at night, was distributed to each man after returning to the cove, where they rested much after the same manner as before.

It was the intention of Captain Bligh to have put to sea the next day, if the weather had proved moderate; but, as this was not the case, he recruited the spirits of his people with a morsel of bread and a spoonful of rum, intending himself, with the clerk, the botanist, and some of the men, to explore the country. Over the precipices, fronting the sea, the natives had contrived long vines to permit their descent; and by means of these it was, that the gentlemen, after climbing, were enabled to begin their excursion; in the course of which they observed only a few empty huts, which had been recently inhabited, and an ill-cultivated plaintain-walk. But, if they found little food for the body, they observed an object that strongly excited their curiosity. After passing the huts, they came to a gully, leading to a mountain, near a formidable volcano, which, from the dreary situation of the adjacent country, and the state of the lava, appeared, even during the rainy season, to be always burning. It is situated on the highest mountain in the island and presented a grand though terrific appearance. With three small bunches of plantain and ten gallons of water, our weary travellers, full of distressing contemplations and anxious fears, returned about noon to their companions, who had employed their time in fishing round the boat—and with similar success. An indisposition in the head attacked Mr. Bligh when he arrived at the precipice, and it was not without great care and judicious assistance that he reached the boat in safety.

The barrenness of the land and scarcity of fish in the sea of this place induced these unfortunate people to consider themselves on the most miserable spot which the whole world

world could produce; but, as a hope of the least imaginable supply of provision, where there was a bare possibility of success, was much preferable to failing where there was a certainty of none, Captain Bligh still persisted in making one more trial. For this purpose, another course was chosen, but, after many efforts, the party returned, tired and faint, not having procured the least article. In proportion, however, as difficulties increased, did Captain Bligh renew his endeavours. The people, owing to the want of room, slept very uncomfortably in the boat; he therefore determined to select a few of them, who were best fitted for the undertaking, to sleep on-shore this night in a cave situated about 150 yards from the water-side, at the head of the cove, from which there was no other way into the country than that by which Mr. Samuel first proceeded on their landing. When arrived at the cave, the party supped on a boiled plantain each, and a quarter of a pint of grog; and, having secured the only pass at which they could be surprised, those not on watch retired to rest, before a good fire which they had kindled to keep off as much as possible the flies and musquitoes.

The succeeding day was in some measure productive of new hopes. Early in the morning, by pursuing a different route, some of the natives were discovered; two of the men even accompanied the party back to the cove, carrying two cocoa-nut shells of water, and, so highly were they pleased with their reception, that they returned and informed their countrymen of the adventure. In consequence of this, by noon, upwards of thirty of the natives arrived with bread-fruit, plantains, and water; for which they received a few trifling articles, such as buttons and beads. But, notwithstanding this fresh supply, the captain would only allow each man an ounce of pork, a quarter of bread-fruit, and half a pint of water, for dinner.

An important consideration now occupied the mind of Captain Bligh: from this day's observation he was convinced that the island, however sterile or apparently desolate, was yet inhabited; and it was possible, too, the natives might be numerous; he also knew that the sagacity with which the people of this part of the globe were endowed, with the great probability of their having before

cen Europeans, would lead them to enquire for the ship; and, fearing that, if he told the truth, they would discover that a want of power must have occasioned the accident, he very properly determined to give out that they had been shipwrecked. In this tale he instructed all his men, fearing that a variation in the assigned cause might produce a total disbelief, and be attended with consequences of a disagreeable, if not of a dangerous, nature.

The event fully justified the captain's expectations, and proved the wisdom of this precaution; the enquiries were made, and the answers given appeared to receive credit; though the account of their misfortune seemed rather to excite surprize than to occasion any sentiments of pity.

Still, however, they continued their friendly intercourse; and, in the afternoon of the first of May, brought a fresh supply of bread-fruit, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, though but little water, which the captain paid for in the same manner as before. Yet, these supplies were brought so sparingly, that little increase of provisions was made to the general stock, notwithstanding the prudent conduct of the captain, who never lost sight of his grand object, in delivering, at night, to each man, only one quarter of a bread-fruit and a cocoa-nut.

The next morning, the crew, encouraged by the assistance they had already received, and inspirited by the hopes of finally obtaining as much provision as would be requisite to enable them to pursue their voyage, exhibited on their countenances more symptoms of chearfulness and resignation than they had displayed since their departure from the ship. But, like the deceitful gleams of sunshine, which frequently precede a dreadful storm, this short-lived tranquillity was destroyed by the actions of the day. The uncertainty of procuring water from the natives had induced the captain to send a party into the mountains to get what they could find; for which purpose they were provided with empty cocoa-nut shells. In the absence of these men, the natives came down to the boat, in increased numbers, accompanied by one of their chiefs, called Maccaakavow, who was soon after followed by another chief, named Eefow, and a young man, called Nageete; the latter of whom recognized the captain, whom he had seen at Annamooka, and

and promised to accompany him the next day to Tongataboo, where two others of the natives, whom the captain had formerly known, then resided.

But, notwithstanding the endeavours of Captain Bligh to conciliate the affections of the chiefs, (who knew he had been with Captain Cook, after whom, as after Captain Clerk, they made enquiries,) they soon betrayed some symptoms which gave rise to the most serious apprehensions. They first attempted to haul the boat on-shore, but were induced, by the threats of the captain to Eefow, to desist. Their numbers, however, continued to increase, and the frequent knocking together of stones, which they held in each hand,—the usual signal of attack,—sufficiently demonstrated their treacherous designs. The situation of the captain and his party was truly deplorable; surrounded by perfidious enemies, they perceived the impossibility of reaching their boat without fighting their way through them; and this they were little able to do, since two out of the four cutlasses were in the boat, and the few spears which they had just bought of the natives were wholly insufficient for the purpose of defence. The captain therefore determined to wait for a more favourable opportunity, and, in the meantime, concealed his suspicions from the chiefs, to whom he distributed a part of the bread-fruit which he had bought, on which and cocoa-nuts he and his men made their dinner, though they were obliged to stand the whole time, wisely resisting the solicitations of the natives to be seated, as that posture would have been more favourable for the accomplishment of their perfidious projects. When this uncomfortable repast was finished, the provisions which remained on-shore, together with three gallons of water, which the foraging party had collected, were by degrees conveyed to the boat.

The captain's vigilance, during this time, was directed to the motions of the natives, whose numbers were continually increasing, while the frequency of their consultations indicated their determination to attack him; he therefore sent orders to the master to favour their approach to the boat, by bringing her close to the shore.

The time now approached that was to decide the fate of this small but determined band. The sun, having nearly

completed his daily course, was about to retire into the bosom of the ocean, when the captain gave the word of command; each man immediately took up his destined load, and, with slow steps and a resolute countenance, advanced to the boat. The chiefs, seeing their victims preparing to escape, approached the captain, and asked him whether it was not his intention to pass the night on-shore; and, on receiving an answer in the negative, though accompanied by assurances of returning the next day, to renew their commercial intercourse, and to proceed, if the weather would permit, to Tongataboo, according to the engagement made with Nageete, they expressed their indignation, and Maccaakavow exclaimed—“ *Then we will kill you!*”

This was the signal of preparation, and that of attack speedily followed. As the captain walked down the beach, accompanied by Nageete, whom he held by the hand, his ears were saluted by the ominous sound of stones knocking together. The whole party, however, contrived to get into the boat before the attack began; but one man,—John Norton, quarter-master,—imprudently quitting it, for the purpose of pushing her off, was attacked by a party of about two hundred natives, who speedily stoned him to death. Repeated volleys of stones were likewise sent into the boat, and greatly annoyed all who were in her; while many of the Indians, seizing the stern-rope, would have certainly pulled her on-shore but for the captain, who cut it asunder with a knife which providentially he had in his pocket.

Having thus cleared ourselves from the shore, they plied their oars, and, pulling towards the open sea, flattered themselves with the idea of having escaped the danger which threatened them. But, this pleasing hope was speedily destroyed; for, twelve of the natives, filling their canoes with stones, pursued them with great velocity, and, by paddling round them without closing, (which, from the heaviness of the English boat crowded with lumber, they were enabled to do,) they renewed the attack with such dexterity and success as to disable the greatest part of the crew; nor could they be induced to desist, till attracted by the lure of some clothes which the captain sagaciously threw

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into the sea for that purpose; and, before they had collected them all, night came on and made them retire to the shore.

The conduct of these Indians affords ample subject for reflection to the philosophic mind; unpolished, untutored, unrefined, they knew no laws but those which nature gave; and, considering her gift of personal strength as the sure mark of pre-eminence, they thought themselves authorised to exert it whenever opportunity offered, and to derive from it every advantage it could possibly afford.

Captain Bligh, rightly judging of the general disposition of the Indians from the rude specimen he had experienced, was sensible that, if he visited any of the neighbouring islands, he had no reason to expect a more favourable reception. He therefore held a consultation with his men on the course it would be prudent to pursue; when a resolution was unanimously adopted which nothing but the most desperate situation could have justified or suggested. This was to sail to the island of Timor (where there was a Dutch settlement) at the distance of twelve hundred leagues, without hopes of any other relief than what they might chance to find at New Holland. It must be recollected, too, that they undertook to perform this arduous task in a boat only twenty-three feet in length, deeply laden with eighteen men; without a chart, and with nothing but the captain's recollection, and a book of latitudes and longitudes, to direct their course in a sea where the navigation is imperfectly known. As their stock of provisions only consisted of one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, twenty-eight gallons of water, twenty pounds of pork, three bottles of wine, five quarts of rum, and a few cocoa-nuts and bread fruit, they entered into a solemn engagement to content themselves with one ounce of bread and a quarter of a pint of water, each man, per day.

In this situation, they bore away under a reefed-lug-fore-sail, about eight o'clock in the evening of the second of May, 1789. The wind at this time blew fresh from the N.E. At day-break, on the third of May, the gale increased, and in a few hours it blew so violent, that the sail of the boat was becalmed between seas, and the water dashed over the stern. It was now found necessary to light-

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en her by throwing every useless article overboard, which also rendered it easier to bale out the water. But, an object of still greater importance was the necessity of keeping the bread dry; for, if it once got wet, they must inevitably have been starved. This, however, they fortunately accomplished, by securing it in the carpenter's chest.

Though all on-board were extremely wet and cold, they only received a quarter of a bread-fruit, each person, for dinner, and that scarcely eatable, together with one teaspoonful of rum; as the captain was resolved to make the provisions last eight weeks, however small the daily proportion might be.

Their distance from Tofoa, at noon, was supposed to be between eighty and ninety miles; and they steered a W.N. W. course, in order to gain a sight of the islands called Feejee. The wind still continued to blow with such violence from the N.E. to E.S.E. that they could only keep the boat before the sea, while their utmost exertions were necessary to prevent her from sinking. The only refreshment they received, to enable them to support this excess of fatigue, was the same scanty proportion of rum which had been allowed them in the morning; yet, even this gave them warmth and spirits, and encouraged them to bear with patience and resignation the hardships they were doomed to experience. The wind did not abate till the ensuing evening; but in the interim they had descried several islands, bearing from the S. round by the W. to N.W. by N. those those to the S. which were nearest, being about four leagues distant from them at noon on the 4th of May. They then steered to the N.W. by W. between the islands; and in the evening discovered three more, the Westernmost of which bore N.W. one-half W. seven leagues; when they steered to the Southward of them a W.N.W. course for the night, which, being fair, they passed with much more comfort than the preceding, when their limbs were so benumbed with the cold, that, when they awoke, they could scarcely use them.

It is necessary to observe, that Captain Bligh adopted the most proper mode of inspiring his men with the requisite degree of fortitude and resignation, by the regular performance of prayers; what source of hope so pure and co-
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pious as a firm reliance on the goodness of Providence! Supplications to the Deity, virtuously inforced, are seldom disregarded.

Having got a log-line marked, and having practised in counting seconds, they were now enabled to keep a more accurate account of their run than they had hitherto done. The day after their departure, at noon, they considered their distance from Tofoa to be W.N.W. one-half W. 86 miles; their latitude 19 deg. 27 min. S. From that time to the next day at noon they made 95 miles, in a N. 72 deg W. course. The third day, course, N.W. by W. one-half W. distance 94 miles; longitude, from Tofoa, 4 deg. 29 min. W.

In the evening of the 5th of May, they discovered two islands, one bearing W. by S. six leagues, and the other N.W. by N. eight leagues. On the following morning, they likewise descried several other islands from S.S.E. to the W. and round to N.E. by E. At noon, they had made 84 miles since the preceding day.

Though the fertile appearance of the islands they discovered invited them to land, yet, as they had no arms, the danger of meeting with natives as inhospitable and ferocious as those they had quitted deterred them from accepting the invitation. Thus they were strictly compelled to observe the engagement they had entered into, by confining themselves to the stipulated portion of provisions, which, for the present, they saw no probability of augmenting. On the 5th of May indeed they hooked a fish, but the joy this fortunate occurrence gave rise to was speedily damped by the exertions of the captive, which regained him his liberty ere they could hoist him into the boat.

Early in the following evening, when they were about mid-way between the Southernmost and Northernmost islands, which lay twelve leagues from each other, they fell in with a coral bank, where there were only four feet water; and, on the seventh, they discovered three other small islands; one, to the N.N.W. the other to the N.E. of the land in the west, which they had before described, and which appeared to be of considerable extent, interspersed with hills and valleys, decorated with woods, and skirted by rocks of an extraordinary height. Being carried in
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very near to the shore by a lee-current, they perceived two large sailing canoes pursuing them with great velocity; but, as the Captain had every reason to believe that these were the Feejee islands, and that the inhabitants were not more charitably disposed than those of the Friendly islands, he thought it prudent to decline any kind of intercourse with them, and therefore ordered the men to ply their oars with as much force as their weak state would admit of. One of the canoes, however, gained upon them considerably, and in the afternoon came within two miles of them, when they were fortunately released from their fears, by seeing them give up the chase.

Nothing particular occurred from the 7th to the 12th of May, when, in the afternoon, they saw on the water a species of fruit known by the botanist, Mr. Nelson, to be the *Barringtonia* of *Forster*; and as they saw the same on the ensuing morning, together with some *men-of-war-birds*, they were induced to believe that land could not be far distant. Their suspicions were accordingly verified on the 14th, when they discovered six islands, one of which at noon bore N.W. by N. four leagues, a second W. eight leagues, and the four other from S. one-half E. to S.W. by S. the nearest of them three leagues from the boat.

The dangers and hardships they experienced, during this tedious navigation, are more easily conceived than expressed. The boat was so small, that, in order to allow one half of the crew to sleep at full length, the other half were obliged to sit up; and, independent of the inconveniences arising from sleeping without any covering in nights that were extremely cold, they were continually soaked with rain; the sea, too, during most of the time, was so rough, from the violence of the winds, that it frequently ran over the stern and kept them in imminent danger of sinking. Their limbs were so much cramped by their confined situation, joined to the cold and wet, that they were almost deprived of the use of them; while some were also afflicted with most violent pains in their bowels. Their provisions were likewise distributed in more scanty proportions, each man having only one twenty-fifth of a pound of bread, (weighed by a pistol-ball which the captain had in his pocket in shells made of cocoa-nuts,) with a quarter of a pint of water

ter, three times a day, (except when the heavy rains enabled them to quench their thirst,) with, occasionally, a mouthful of pork, and a tea-spoonful of rum. The prudent conduct of the captain, however, enabled them to bear their misfortunes like men. To preserve them, in some measure, from the effects of the cold, he made them strip, when wet with rain, and soak their cloaths in salt water, which proved very beneficial; nor was he less attentive to the amusement of their minds than to the preservation of their bodies. In the short intervals of fair weather, he gave them accounts of his former voyages, and particularly described to them the situation of New Guinea and New Holland, that, in case of his own death, they might be able to find their way to Timor, of which at present they were totally ignorant.

In addition to the islands, discovered on the 14th, another was descried the next day, bearing W. N. W. five leagues distant; and at the same time they saw several gannets, boobies, and men-of-war birds. These islands had never before been discovered, though, from their vicinity to the New Hebrides, they may justly be considered as a part of the same group. They lie between the latitude of 13 deg. 16 min. S. and 14 deg. 10 min. S. their longitude from 167 deg. 17 min. E. to 168 deg. 34 min. E. from Greenwich. They appeared fertile, and the smoke, which ascended in different parts, proved them to be inhabited; but the crew were unable to derive any advantage from this grateful prospect; the fear of destruction subduing the desire of relief, they pursued their course, only steering more to the south, in order to avoid the inhospitable coast of New Guinea.

The weather continued very bad for some days, dark and gloomy, with frequent storms of thunder and lightning, and the rain was so incessant that the boat was, at times, in danger of being filled with it. The nights, too, were so dark that not a star could be seen to steer by. The crew, exhausted by such constant exertions and hardships, began to be clamorous for an increase of allowance in the article of provision; but they were speedily silenced by the authority of the captain, who positively refused a compli-

ance, which he well knew would be attended with fatal consequences.

And, indeed, he had occasion to put their obedience to a severe trial; for, on the twenty-fourth of May, when the violence of the wind had abated and the weather was fair, he embraced the opportunity to determine with precision the quantity of bread that was left, which, according to the portions they had hitherto distributed, was found sufficient to last twenty-nine days. But, though there was strong reason for believing that they would reach Timor within that time, yet, as there was a possibility that they might be obliged to extend their voyage to Java, the captain deemed it prudent to manage the provision so as to make it last six weeks, the requisite time for gaining that place. This was a proposition which, in the present situation of the crew, it seemed impracticable to enforce; the captain, however, exerted his utmost eloquence in demonstrating the necessity of the measure, and his efforts proved so successful, that what he thought would be rejected as impossible was adopted with alacrity; and, instead of three portions a day, each person contented himself with two.

The captain's determination was to make New Holland, to the Southward of Endeavour-Straits, with the view to preserve such a situation as to render a southerly wind a fair wind; and thereby be enabled to range the reefs until an opening should be found into smooth water, and the opportunity of obtaining refreshments accelerated.

On the twenty-fifth, they had the satisfaction to see several noddies and boobies*, which never stray far from the land; and the next day they had the still greater satisfaction of catching one of the former, which was divided into eighteen portions, and distributed for dinner; and although it had no other sauce than the sea-water, it was eaten with avidity, bones and all. At noon, too, they had the good fortune to catch a booby, which was divided

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* A noddy is a bird about the size of a pigeon, and a booby about the size of a duck; they both of them received their names from sailors, who gave them these appellations as expressive of their stupidity in suffering themselves to be caught by the hand on the masts and yards of ships.

in the same manner, (the blood being given to three of the crew who were most reduced,) and on which they made a supper *comparatively* luxurious. In order to prevent any complaint of partiality in the distribution of these precious morsels, recourse was had to that mode of division which is only known to seamen, and which they term—“*Who shall have this?*”—It is thus performed—One person turns his back to the object, that is divided into pieces, and another, pointing separately to the different portions, exclaims—“*Who shall have this?*”—to which the first answers by naming one of the competitors; so that each man has an equal chance of obtaining the best portion.

Providence, at this time, appeared to have been careful to reward their fortitude and patience, by means of relief as extraordinary as the circumstance which gave rise to the want of it. Another booby was caught in the morning of the twenty sixth which afforded them a dinner as comfortable as their supper the preceding night. The pleasure however they experienced on this occasion was interrupted by the excessive heat of the sun, which, now the weather was serene, had become so intolerable as to render life a burden. Yet, the capture of two more boobies (in whose stomachs were several flying fish and small cuttlefish, all of which were deemed excellent food) roused them, in some degree, from this state of languor and despondency; and the sight of a quantity of drift-wood, and an increased number of birds, effectually restored their drooping spirits. The captain was now convinced that the reefs of New Holland could not be far distant; and he determined to make that coast without delay; the direction of which, from his recollection, he considered to be N.W. and therefore with the wind to the Southward of East he well knew he should be able to steer clear of all dangers.

The sight of a gannet in the evening of the twenty-seventh, and the fixed position of the clouds in the West, confirmed the captain in this belief; and the hopes of a speedy supply inspired the crew with greater cheerfulness than they had hitherto experienced; they fondly anticipated the treat they should meet with, and, after so long a fast, engaged with ecstacy the ideal feast.

At one o'clock, the ensuing day, the man at the helm was surprized with the sound of breakers, which were close under the lee of the boat, on which they immediately hauled on a wind to the N.N.E. and, in a few minutes, they could neither be seen nor heard. The certainty of being now in the vicinity of the coast of New-Holland, where they knew refreshments might be had, inspirited the crew, who, at day-break, again steering for the reefs, came in sight of them, and plainly perceived the smoothness of the water within them. But their situation was now rendered extremely perilous by their sails being employed, and the great swell of the sea towards the reefs, which endangered their being driven among the breakers. While, however, the captain was considering whether they should attempt to push through them, they very fortunately discovered an opening or break in the reef, at the distance of a mile, and at the same time an island within it, bearing W. one-half N. This passage they entered, and found it about four hundred yards wide, with every appearance of deep water. It is situated in 12 deg. 51 min. S. latitude. They then bore away to the N.W. and at noon on the twenty-eighth found their latitude was 12 deg. 46 min. S. and the island first seen, which the captain named the *Island Direction*, bore W.S.W. about five leagues. As they advanced within the reefs they soon obtained a distinct view of the coast; and, in their way to the shore, fell in with a point of a reef, (connected with that towards the sea,) from which the island *Direction* bore S. three or four leagues. Four miles to the W. by N. lay two more islands, the first of which proved to be a mere heap of stones; they therefore directed their course to the second, which lay contiguous and towards the main, where, on the N.W. side, they found a bay and a fine sandy point to land at. All their past cares now appeared to be consigned to oblivion, as they regaled themselves with the pleasing and long-wished-for prospect of a comfortable meal and undisturbed repose. It was late in the evening before they landed, so that they had only sufficient time to reconnoitre and to discover some oysters on the rocks. As they found no reason to dread any interruption

ruption during the night, it was settled that half of them should sleep ashore and the other half in the boat.

The sun, on the succeeding morning, presented to these unhappy wanderers a more chearful aspect than he had yet displayed since their departure from the inhospitable shore of Tofoa. Though their sufferings had rendered them extremely weak, yet, supported as they were by mental fortitude, sufficient strength remained to enable them to surmount those difficulties which they had still to encounter in their voyage to Timor. The chief symptoms of disease, which prevailed among them, were a giddiness of the head, great weakness of the joints, and a violent tenesmus, having had no evacuation by stool since they left the ship, but none of these appeared to be dangerous, and they had now the prospect of procuring such rest and refreshment as were necessary to re-establish their health.

The captain perceiving there were no signs of inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the coast, sent out foraging parties, who returned in high spirits, having found plenty of oysters and fresh water. The captain, in the mean time, had made a fire, by the means of a magnifying glass; and he was also so fortunate as to find some brimstone and a tinder-box, together with a copper pot, which had been thrown into the boat with other things; he was therefore enabled, by mixing the oysters, with bread and a small portion of pork, to prepare a stew by no means unsavoury, and on which an appetite, unwhetted by long fasting, might even have contrived to make a comfortable dinner. Of this each man had a full pint.

On examining the state of the boat, which they hastened to put in order, lest any sudden occurrence might necessitate them to resume their voyage, they found additional reason for returning thanks to Providence; for, one of the gudgeons of the rudder had come out during the night; an accident which, had it happened at sea, would probably have proved the cause of their destruction, since it would have rendered it impossible to manage the boat with that nicety which those heavy seas required. Here fortunately it was speedily remedied by the application of a large staple which they found in the boat.

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The oysters, being large and well-flavoured, afforded them considerable refreshment; but, it is remarkable, they adhered so fast to the rocks, that in order to save time they were obliged to open them where they grew. Another circumstance equally fortunate was the discovery of some wire-grass, a sure sign of great moisture in the soil, which encouraged them to dig for water, which they speedily found, and accordingly formed a well, shallow indeed, but sufficiently deep for their purpose, since it filled as fast as they emptied it; whence it is probable that there was a spring beneath. Its situation is about 200 yards to the S.E. of a point in the S.W. part of the island.

The day after their arrival on the island, it was named, by the captain, RESTORATION ISLAND; not only on account of the day—the 29th of May—but in allusion to the benefits they had derived from it. The island is above two miles in circumference, consisting chiefly of rocks and stones, thinly covered with a sandy soil that is barely sufficient to give nourishment to the small trees which afford it a partial embellishment; of these the chief are the manchineal, the purow, and the palm: the tops of the last they cut down, and the internal part of them proving grateful to their taste, made excellent addition to their meals. They also found three sorts of food, which, being induced to taste, by seeing the birds feed on them, proved both palatable and wholesome. One of them grew on a diminutive species of vine; in size and substance it resembled a gooseberry, but in taste it was infinitely sweeter; the skin was a pale red streaked downwards with yellow; the second grew in clusters on bushes, and much like the elder-berry; and the third, in taste, size, and colour, strongly resembled a large sloe. There were plenty of birds on the island, of various sorts; among them the parrot and wild pigeon; but the want of fire-arms rendered it impossible to profit by them. There were also bees and lizards, with ants, who made their nests in the bushes, covered with a web that preserved them from the rain. The traces of the kangaroo were very visible, which had probably been brought from the main, by the natives, for the purpose of breeding, and rendering a supply more certain, by the greater facility of taken them.

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They also saw evident signs of occasional inhabitants; such as fire-places and wig-wams; together with a pointed stick three feet in length with a slit in the end, such as the natives of Van Diemen's Land use for flinging stones.

The shore is extremely rocky in every part, except that on which they landed, where they found several pieces of pumice-stone. The neighbouring main wore a sterile appearance, and a lofty cape shewed the direction of the coast to the N.W. about seven leagues; and three or four leagues to the N. were two small islands. The trunk of a large tree, which lay on the beach, afforded the strongest grounds for believing that the northerly winds always blew a very heavy sea in upon the island.

The captain was determined to stay no longer at this place than was absolutely requisite for the purposes of rest and refreshment; and he had the satisfaction to find that two nights comfortable repose had effected a visible alteration in the health of his crew. The day after his arrival he found a diminution in his small stock of pork, which now amounted only to two pounds; and, in order to remove every inducement to pilfer, he spared the whole for their dinner on the thirtieth. At length, having filled all the water-casks, which contained nearly sixty gallons, and put what few oysters they could collect in the boat, the captain prepared for sailing, having on-board sufficient bread to last thirty-eight days, at the rate of two twenty-fifths of a pound, for each person, a day. On the afternoon of the thirtieth of May, when on the point of embarking, about twenty natives made their appearance on the opposite shore, armed with a spear and lance. They made signs for them to approach, but, as they perceived the heads of many others on the top of the hill who were probably lying in ambush, they thought it prudent to hasten their departure. They accordingly sailed; and, steering as near to the shore as they could, they had a full sight of the natives who appeared to be black, with short bushy hair, and quite naked.

Having a strong tide in their favour, they got abreast of the cape above-mentioned by eight o'clock; and, not seeing any land without it, they concluded that the coast inclined to the N.W. and W.N.W. but in this they were deceived,

deceived, as before midnight they met with low land to the N. E. and at three in the morning, finding themselves embayed, they were obliged to stand back to the Southward.

At day-break, on the 31st of May, they were surprised to find the whole face of the country totally changed; instead of a coast agreeably intersected with hills and vales, and occasionally decked with pleasing woods, a continued shore of sand tired and disgusted the eye with its barren sameness; no verdure appeared, to relieve the sterile scene, but all was brown and gloomy. Passing through the channel between some small islands to the N. E. and the main land, they saw two parties of Indians, running towards them, with green boughs in their hands, which they waved in token of friendship. But, though the captain was anxious to have some intercourse with these people, who were armed in the same manner as those he had before seen, he thought the danger too great to be incurred without evident necessity, and therefore continued his course till eight in the morning, when he landed on an island to the N. W. At this place, the crew, who had hitherto observed the utmost order and propriety of conduct, began to evince a spirit of mutiny, which, if it had not been timely checked, must have been attended with the most fatal consequences. Two parties being ordered out in search of supplies, many of the men, weak and fatigued, expressed a reluctance to comply, and some actually declared that they would rather go without a dinner than be at the pains of seeking it. One, in particular, behaved with great insolence to the captain, openly refusing to acknowledge his superiority; but, Captain Bligh, on this trying occasion, successfully exerted that good sense and fortitude which so eminently distinguished his conduct during the whole course of this arduous enterprize; seizing a cutlass, he commanded the mutineer to take another, and immediately prove, like a man, that equality he was so ready to assert. The sailor, however, intimidated at the resolute countenance of his commander, had recourse to supplication; and, by returning to his duty, obtained the forgiveness he asked.

From the highest part of this island, which the captain named Sunday-Island, no more of the main-land could be

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seen than from the beach, as it only extended from S. one-half E. four miles, to W. by N. about four leagues. A small key N.W. by N. however, was perceptible, which, as it lay farther from the land than the island they were on, the captain deemed a more secure resting-place for the night. After making a good dinner on some oysters, clams, and small beans—a species of the *dolichos*—which they found on the island, together with plenty of rain-water, they sailed for the key where they meant to sleep. They accordingly reached it about dark; but found it so surrounded with rocks, that it was dangerous to approach it, for which reason they came to a grapnel for the night.

At day-break, however, (on the first of June) they got on shore, and tracked the boat into a safe place; and, stimulated by the flattering vestiges of turtles, and the sight of an immense number of noddies, the captain resolved to remain on this spot till the ensuing morning. Here the botanist, Mr. Nelson, was attacked with a violent heat in his bowels, a dimness of sight, excessive thirst and debility, occasioned by the extreme heat of the sun during an excursion he made in search of supplies. The small quantity of wine, which the captain had carefully preserved, now proved of great utility, as, after taking some bread soaked in it, and reposing himself naked in the shade, he began to recover. The boatswain and carpenter, also, with some others, complained of sickness and head ach; which proceeded chiefly from having eaten immoderately of raw beans and berries, which they found when sent to forage.

As it was evident, from the remains of an old wigwam and the backs of two turtles, that the natives sometimes resorted to this place, it was thought prudent to make their fire in the thicket, that they might not be discovered in the night. But, this regulation, which had been wisely adopted by the captain, proved of little avail; for, one of the crew, in his absence, insisting on having a fire separate from his comrades, the flames caught the surrounding grass, and spread with such rapidity, that the whole island was presently in a blaze. Fortunately, however, the deprivation of rest was the only misfortune they experienced from the obstinacy and imprudence of this man. The party

dispatched during the night, in search of turtle, returned at three in the morning, wholly unsuccessful. But the bird-party were more fortunate; they caught twelve noddies, and would certainly have taken a much greater number, but for the folly of one man, who, leaving his companions, disturbed the birds, though not till he had eaten nine, which he caught himself, (as he afterwards acknowledged).

At dawn of day they left this island, whose latitude is 11 deg. 47 min. S. having another small island between it and the main, at the distance of three leagues, to the W. by N. 1-4th N. and proceeded to the Northward. Before they sailed, the captain tied some buttons and pieces of iron to a tree, as an agreeable prize to any of the natives who might visit the place; but, though his intention was evidently laudable, a little reflection might have convinced him, that the gratification of this generous impulse would probably be productive of very different effects from those which he expected, as it would certainly lead to the promotion of discord, if not the effusion of blood. Were a party of Mexicans to be driven on the British coast, and to leave suspended on a tree, as marks of gratitude for the shelter it afforded them, some massy lumps of silver and gold, (not more precious to us than iron and brass to the rude natives of New Holland,) could it be supposed that, when discovered by a troop of rustics, the glittering spoil would experience an equal and a peaceable division? No! instead of friendly congratulations on their mutual acquisition, each individual would be tempted to assert the superiority of his claim, disputes would inevitably arise, and the contest be terminated in the sanguinary decisions of strength. Nature's bounteous hand has provided the inhabitants of every clime with all that is necessary for their welfare and felicity; every object foreign from these is an article of luxury, the introduction of which leads to unhappiness, by the creation of new wants. The man who satisfies the wants of nature is a friend; but, he who raises wants which nature disowns, is surely the worst of foes.

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When they had run somewhat more than five miles to the Northward, the sea became suddenly rough, which they ascribed to an open channel to the ocean through the reefs; they then met with a large shoal, on which were two sandy keys, between which and two others, four miles to the West, they kept on to the Northward. Several other keys were perceived in the course of the day, which, being covered with wood, formed a pleasing contrast with the brown and sterile appearance of the main. The Northernmost point of the latter sloped towards the sea, and to the Southward of it was a hill flat at the top, which thence he denominated *Pudding pan hill*, as he named two others to the Northward the *Paps*. Here was a small track of country, less barren in appearance than the rest of the coast, the eastern part of which formed a cape, whence the coast inclines to the N.W. by N.

On the second of June, at noon, they were thirty miles distant from the island where they last slept, and which they called the *Lagoon Island*, having steered a N. one-half W. course, latitude 11 deg. 18 min. S. They continued their course at about three leagues distance from the mainland, between a number of small islands, (on one of which they landed, but were unable to meet with any kind of provision,) till the afternoon of the third, when they came to a rock, having the appearance of an island, which they found to be that discovered by Captain Cook, and named *Booby Island*, from the quantity of boobies which resort thither; they likewise saw a small key close to the West part of the coast, which they called *Shoal Cape*. Here they quitted the rocks and shoals of the North part of New Holland; and, at eight in the evening, once more committed themselves to the open sea, after having been six days on the coast. But, encouraged by the dangers they had escaped, they expressed no apprehensions of those they were to encounter; the hope of reaching, in a few days, a land of safety, supported their courage and rendered their minds much stronger than their bodies.

The greatest inconvenience they now experienced was from the extreme roughness of the sea, which made it necessary to bale the water out of the boat without intermis-

sion, and kept every body in it continually wet. This affected them all most sensibly; the surgeon, in particular, and an old seaman, named Lebogue, displayed the strongest symptoms of a rapid decay, when they had been at sea four or five days; and the rest experienced that irresistible disposition to sleep which generally indicates the approaching victory of disease over exhausted nature. The only relief that could be afforded was a spoonful or two of wine to those who were most affected; till, in the afternoon of the eighth, they were so fortunate as to catch a small dolphin, which supplied a portion of three ounces to each man. Still, however, the unfavourable symptoms hourly increased, aggravated by excessive debility, swollen legs, death-like countenances, and weakness of the mental faculties. Though the captain supported his spirits with uncommon resolution, and really felt less indisposed than the generality of his men, the boatswain told him, with great simplicity, that he looked worse than all of them; an observation, at such a conjuncture, certainly not very encouraging.

On the eleventh, at noon, the captain, having made his observation, found every reason to believe that they had passed the Eastern part of the meridian of Timor—a circumstance which afforded infinite satisfaction to these wretched wanderers; and the sight of a number of gannets, boobies, and other birds, in the course of the afternoon, fortunately confirmed them in the pleasing hope of a speedy termination to their misery.

The course and distance they had made, from the third of June to this time, were as follow. To the fourth at noon; course, S. 81 W. distance 111 miles; lat. 10 deg. 48 min. S. long. by account from Shoal Cape, 1 deg. 45 min. W.—To the fifth, W. 1-4th N. 108 miles; lat. 10 deg. 45 min. S. long. 3 deg. 35 min. W.—To the sixth; N. 77 deg. W. 117 miles; lat. 10 deg. 19 min. S. long. 5 deg. 31 min. W. To seventh; N. 57 deg. W. 88 miles; lat. 9 deg. 31 min. S. long. 6 deg. 46 min. W.—To the eighth; W.N.W. 1-4th W. 106 miles; lat. 8 deg. 45 min. S. long. 8 deg. 23 min W.—To the ninth; S. 76 deg. W. 107 miles; lat. 9 deg. 9 min. S. long. 10 deg. 8 min. W.—
To

To the tenth, W. 1-half S. 111 miles; lat. 9 deg. 16 min. S. long. 12 deg. 1 min. W.—To the eleventh; S. 77 deg. W. 109 miles; lat. 9 deg. 41 min. S. long. 13 deg. 49 min. W.

The flattering symptoms of approaching land, far from proving fallacious, were speedily verified; for, on the morning of the twelfth of June, between the hours of two and three, the long-looked for object of their ardent vows, the goal of their desires, the propitious coast of Timor, presented itself to their view. No longer now was heard the sullen murmur of complaint; hope's vivifying ray brightened the languid eye, crimsoned over the pallid cheek, and cheered the drooping heart, of sickness. The hope they now experienced was not that distant hope which raises the *transient* glow, and mocks the wretch it flatters; but a rational sentiment, confirmed by wisdom, and whose nearness of accomplishment proved the solidity of its basis.

At day-break, the land bearing from S.W. by S. from five or six miles distant to N.E. by N. upwards of six leagues, they steered along shore to the S.S.W. in search of the Dutch settlement. But, though the land exhibited frequent marks of cultivation, they were fearful to approach it, as they could perceive no signs of European habitations; they therefore continued their course till night, when they lay to, and resumed it in the morning. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the thirteenth, after passing through a breaking sea, not without great danger, they discovered an ample sound, near the entrance of which, on the east side, (upwards of two miles in breadth) they came to a grapnel, in a small bay, with a sandy bottom, where they perceived a hut, a dog, and some cattle. The S.W. point of the entrance of the sound bore W. 1-half S. one league; the S.E. point three-fourths of a mile; and the island Roti (which they had first seen at ten in the morning) from S. by W. 1-4th W. to S.W. 1-4th W. about five leagues.

This sound, from its situation and extent, is admirably formed for the reception of shipping; and, through a reef of rocks, about two cables length from the shore, which are only to be seen at low water, and some very high breakers on the opposite side, present a formidable appearance of danger,

danger, there is sufficient room, and a safe channel, for the largest vessels.

The gunner and boatswain being sent to the hut, soon returned, accompanied by five Indians, who gave them to understand that the governor of the Dutch settlement resided at a place called Coupang, which was at some distance to the N.E. whither one of them consented to conduct them.

These natives were of a dark tawny colour, with long black hair. Their dress consisted of a square piece of cloth, which they wore round their hips, with a large knife stuck in the folds of it; a handkerchief tied round their hands; and a bag suspended from their shoulders, for the purpose of carrying the *betle*, which they constantly chewed. They brought to the boat some pieces of dried turtle, and some ears of Indian corn; but the former were so hard as not to be eatable till soaked in the water; the latter, however, proved a grateful treat; and they offered to bring some other food, but the captain, eager to depart, took his Indian pilot on-board, and sailed before five in the afternoon, keeping close in on the East shore. The wind falling with the day, they had recourse to their oars, but, their strength proving inadequate to any effectual exertion, they came to a grapnel at ten at night; and, the water being extremely smooth, enjoyed the salutary comfort of a sound sleep for three hours; they kept in the same direction till they again came to the open sea, where they found that the land to the Westward, which they had passed, was an island, called, by their Indian pilot, Pulo Samow. The Northern entrance of this channel is near two miles wide.

The report of two guns, at no great distance, now proved the most agreeable sounds which had ever stricken their ears; and their eyes were soon after regaled with a treat equally pleasant, in the sight of two square-rigged vessels, and a cutter, lying at anchor to the Eastward. Being thus on the point of accomplishing their arduous enterprize and terminating all their hardships, they felt themselves endowed with unusual strength, and, applying to their oars till the approach of day, came to grapnel, opposite to a small fort and town, which, as they learned from the pilot, was Coupang. Having hoisted a signal of distress, they were
hailed

hailed by a soldier, who told them to land; a request with which the captain instantly complied. On his debarkation, he was received by a crowd of Indians, among whom he was agreeably surprised to find an English sailor. This man immediately conducted him to the house of his captain, whose name was Spikerman, and whose vessel was one of those which lay in the road. Captain Spikerman, being informed of their situation, desired the crew might immediately land, and repair to his house, where he gave orders for their reception, while he went to the Governor, Mr. William Adrian Van Este,—who then lay dangerously ill,—to know at what hour he would receive Captain Bligh.

It was with extreme difficulty that the crew reached the house of Captain Spikerman, where they found a breakfast of tea, with bread and butter, prepared for them. It would be difficult for the human imagination to conceive a more extraordinary group than these miserable objects now exhibited to the inhabitants of Timor; and it is scarcely possible for the pen or pencil to convey an adequate idea of the horrid spectacle now presented to their view. But for the tears of gladness, which flowed in copious streams from the sunk eye, each individual would have represented a perfect personification of wretchedness and famine: worn to the very bones, with limbs full of sores, and tattered garments, they inspired every spectator with pity mingled with horror and astonishment.

The governor's anxiety for their relief, overcoming his concern for his own health, he appointed a very early interview with Captain Bligh; and, in the reception he afforded him, displayed that innate goodness of heart, which is the first gift and noblest ornament of human nature. Equally polite and benevolent, he possessed the difficult art of bestowing favours without hurting the feelings of those who received them. After assuring Captain Bligh that every accommodation which the place could afford should be immediately provided for himself and his men, he set before him an elegant repast, which, though the governor knew to be necessary for the gratification of his appetite, he only requested him to partake in compliance with the custom of the country.

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When the captain left this generous and worthy man he returned to Captain Spikerman, whom he found equally attentive, humane, and beneficent. In his absence, every kind of relief had been administered to his men; the town surgeon, Mr. Max, had dressed their sores, and they had been provided with many useful articles of dress.

A house—the only one in town unoccupied—was now given to the captain for his own residence; but, finding it sufficiently capacious, he resolved to have all his men under the same roof with himself. Of this determination he accordingly informed the Governor, who immediately sent beds, and all other necessary furniture.

Here they remained till the twentieth of August, when they left Coupang, in a schooner which the captain had purchased, with the assistance of Mr. Timotheus Wanjor, son in law to the Governor, who supplied him with money, and every thing his situation required. During his residence at this place all his men had recovered their health and strength; except the botanist, Mr. Nelson, who died on the twentieth of July.

Coupang is situated in 10 deg. 12 min. S. latitude, and 124 degrees, 41 min. E. longitude.

On the 6th of September, they came in sight of Java; whence they continued their course to the west through the straits of Madura; and arrived safe at Batavia on the first of October. Here they separated; the captain and two of his men embarking for Europe in the Vlyet packet, which sailed on the 16th of October, and the rest remaining at Batavia, to come home by the fleet which was to sail soon after. The packet arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of December; left it the second of January, and, on the fourteenth of March, Captain Bligh landed at Portsmouth.

Having thus brought our bold and successful adventurers to a safe harbour, some few reflections naturally occur. The recital of miraculous escapes from extraordinary dangers is never intended for the mere gratification of curiosity; but to promote some important object of general utility—either by teaching how to avoid, or by shewing how to escape, perils of a similar nature. Those to which Captain Bligh
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and his party were here exposed by the mutiny of his crew, no human wisdom could foresee nor policy prevent; but the exemplary conduct and fortitude of that officer affords a most useful lesson to others. When we consider, that, from his departure from Tofoa, to his arrival on the coast of Timor, *forty one* days had been passed, by eighteen men, in an open boat, with such a quantity of provisions, as, according to the usual allowance of seamen, would only have lasted *five*; and, that, during that time, they had run more than twelve hundred leagues, without losing a single man; we cannot withhold our admiration, nor forbear to bestow the highest encomiums on that excellent management and heroic resolution, which gave success to a project apparently impracticable.

Had not the captain resisted the solicitations of his men, and persisted in his determination to enforce the agreement formed at their departure from Tofoa, concerning the distribution of provisions, they must inevitably have perished by famine; whereas, on their arrival at Timor, they had sufficient left to proceed to Java, where they were certain of meeting with supplies.

The crew, also, are deserving of praise for their strict observance of discipline, at a time when their situation, by diminishing the fear of punishment, and augmenting the hope of impunity, established an apparent equality between them and their commander.

Such dangers thus escaped must fully impress our minds with the conviction, that no situation, however bad, can justify despair; and this reflection should teach those whom chance or choice has directed to the adoption of a naval life, to repose implicit confidence in the all-bounteous Being, whose paternal hand is ever stretched forth to the aid of such as place their trust in him, whether to guide the midnight wanderer over the trackless desert, or to steer in safety the courageous sailor through the threatening billows.

JUNE 20, 1790.

We learn from a Mr. Meredith, just come from China, and who has also been at Otaheite, that Christian and his crew had visited that island without the captain, and with only part of the crew; but had left it, a short time before Mr. Meredith arrived, with a promise to return. It is probable, from this account, that they have turned pirates.



SECRET

SECRET ANECDOTES

OF THE

OTAHEITEAN FEMALES.

AS we have been induced to ascribe the piratical conduct of the mutineers to the fascinating charms of the female inhabitants of Otaheite, we think it necessary (in order to prove that there is no absurdity in the supposition) to offer to our readers some authentic anecdotes respecting them. These we apprehend, will be sufficient to convince such as are of opinion, that a state of pure nature is wholly destitute of attractions, and better calculated to excite disgust than to raise desires, that their sentiments are rather the offsprings of prejudice than of reason. ROUSSEAU and RAYNAL, the grand advocates of nature, have, indeed, been stigmatised as brutes, for defending a mistress they adored, even the avowed excellence of their private characters proved inadequate to secure those philosophic writers from the imputation of hypocrisy and of vicious intentions.

We mean not to enter on a topic which would inevitably lead us into as ample field of investigation as the discussion of the superiority of man in a state of nature over man in a state of refinement; we only wish to offer a single remark, and that rather as a *querie* than a settled opinion.—Would not the expression of a doubt that man is born good be deemed an impious reflection on the justice of the Deity? And, if this be admitted, may we not conclude, that they who (uninfluenced by education, unawed by example) pursue the pure dictates of nature, are more virtuous than the members of a polished society? But, be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the mode of living in Otaheite is well adapted to make the most powerful impressions on vulgar and illiterate minds, who deem exemption from toil and sensual gratifications the primary objects of human pursuits.

“WHAT the Otaheiteans feel they have never been taught either to disguise or suppress, and, having habits of thinking which perpetually recal the past and anticipate the future, they are affected by all the changes of the passing hour, and reflect the colour of time, however frequently it may vary. They have no project which is to be pursued from day to day, the subject of unremitted anxiety and solicitude, that first rushes into the mind when they awake in the morning, and is last dismissed when they sleep at night. Yet, if we admit that they are, upon the whole, happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views.”

Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. II. page 355.

“On the 29th of April, 1769, not very early in the forenoon, Mr. Banks went to pay his court to Oberea, [the Queen,] and was told that she was still asleep under the awning of her canoe: thither therefore he went, intending to call her up, a liberty which he thought he might

might take, without any danger of giving offence: but, upon looking into her chamber, to his great astonishment, he found her in bed with a handsome young fellow about five and twenty, whose name was **OBADÉE**: he retreated with some haste and confusion, but was soon made to understand, that such amours gave no occasion to scandal, and that Obadée was universally known to have been selected by her as the object of her private favours."

Hawkesworth's Voyages, V. II. page 358.

" Friday, the 12th of May, was distinguished by a visit from some ladies whom we had never seen before, and who introduced themselves with some singular ceremonies. Mr. Banks was trading in his boat at the gate of the fort as usual, in company with Tootahah, who had that morning paid him a visit, and some other of the natives; between nine and ten o'clock, a double canoe came to the landing-place, under the awning of which sat a man and two women: the Indians that were about Mr. Banks made signs that he should go out to meet them, which he hastened to do; but, by the time he could get out of the boat, they had advanced within ten yards of him: they then stopped, and made signs that he should do so too, laying down about a dozen young plantain-trees, and some other small plants: he complied, and the people having made a lane between them, the man, who appeared to be a servant, brought six of them to Mr. Banks, by one of each at a time, passing and re-passing six times, and always pronouncing a short sentence when he delivered them. Tupia, who stood by Mr. Banks, acted as his master of the ceremonies, and, receiving the branches as they were brought, laid them down in the boat. When this was done, another man brought a large bundle of cloth, which having opened, he spread piece by piece upon the ground, in the space between Mr. Banks and his visitors; there were nine pieces, and, having laid three pieces one upon another, the foremost of the women, who seemed to be the principal, and who

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was called OORATTOO, stepped upon them, and, taking up her garments all round her to the waist, turned about, with great composure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity, three times; when this was done, she dropped the veil, and, stepping off the cloth, three more pieces were laid on, and she repeated the ceremony, then stepping off as before; the last three were laid on, and the ceremony was repeated in the same manner the third time. Immediately after this, the cloth was rolled up, and given to Mr. Banks as a present from the lady, who, with her friend, came up and saluted him. He made such presents to them both as he thought would be acceptable, and, after having staid about an hour, they went away."

Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. II. page 382.

" On the 14th, which was Sunday, I directed that divine service should be performed at the fort: we were desirous that some of the principal Indians should be present, but, when the hour came, they mostly returned home. Mr. Banks, however, crossed the river, and brought back Tubourai Tamide, and his wife Tomio, hoping that it would give occasion to some inquiries on their part, and some instruction on ours. Having seated them, he placed himself between them, and, during the whole service, they attentively observed his behaviour, very exactly imitating it; standing, sitting, or kneeling, as they saw him do. They were conscious that we were employed about somewhat serious and important, as appeared by their calling to the Indians without the fort to be silent; yet, when the service was over, neither of them asked any questions, nor would they attend to any attempt that was made to explain what had been done.

" Such were our matins; our Indians thought fit to perform vespers of a very different kind. A young man, near six feet high, performed the rites of Venus with a little girl about eleven or twelve years of age, before several of our people, and a great number of the natives, without the least sense of its being indecent or improper; but, as
appeared

appeared, in perfect conformity to the custom of the place. Among the spectators were several women of superior rank, particularly Oberea, who may properly be said to have assisted at the ceremony; for they gave instructions to the girl how to perform her part, which, young as she was, she did not seem much to stand in need of.

“ This accident is not mentioned as an object of idle curiosity, but, as it deserves consideration in determining a question which has long been debated in philosophy: Whether the shame attending certain actions, which are allowed on all sides to be in themselves innocent, is implanted in nature, or superinduced by custom? If it has its origin in custom, it will, perhaps, be found difficult to that custom, however general, to its source;—if in instinct, it will be equally difficult to discover from what cause it is subdued, or, at least over-ruled among these people, in whose manners not the least trace of it is to be found.

Hawkesworth's Voyages, V. II. page 386.

T H E E N D .



The Trinity

